

**Cemetery Tourism:
Visitors' motivations for visiting the Rakowicki Cemetery in Kraków,
Poland**

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1. Aim of the research

The aim of this thesis is to contribute to the academic field of Dark Tourism by researching on the visitors' motivations for engaging in it. Particularly, it focuses on a very specific branch within Dark Tourism: Cemetery tourism. The case selected is the Rakowicki Cemetery, located in Kraków, Poland.

As it has been indicated, the main goal of this dissertation is to investigate the motives that people have for visiting the Rakowicki Cemetery, that is, to ascertain which is the driving factor behind their visit; which reasons justify it. At the same time, and based on the results of the research, it is an objective of this thesis to establish patterns and commonalities, if existent, between the results of the fieldwork undertaken in the Rakowicki Cemetery and that done in other cemeteries. Finally, the results will be examined in the framework of Dark Tourism and Cemetery Tourism theory to see if there is a concordance.

Thus, the main research questions are the following:

-Why do people visit cemeteries? What is the rationale behind their visit? Which need (physical and/or physiological) are they trying to satisfy?

-Are visitors' motivations to the Rakowicki Cemetery different from those to other cemeteries where research has been undertaken? Can we establish a pattern?

-Are the results from fieldwork about Cemetery Tourism in accordance with Cemetery Tourism and Dark Tourism theory?

The interest of this research is especially relevant due to the fact that Dark Tourism and Cemetery Tourism are on the rise: Visitors to places like the former nazi concentration camp of Auschwitz; The Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant and Ground Zero (at the World Trade Center Site) are increasing (Usborne, 2018). At the same time, lots of cemeteries offer guided tours and receive thousands of visitors each year: The Highgate Cemetery in London, The Arlington National Cemetery in Virginia or The Père Lachaise Cemetery in Paris are good examples of that. Despite the growing popularity of this type of tourism, research on the motivations for visits to Dark Tourism sites and specifically to cemeteries is still incipient:

The purpose of this thesis is to contribute to the understanding of the reasons why these visits take place.

2. The theory of travel to sites of death

Seaton (1996) used the term “thanatourism”, which he defined as “travel to a location wholly, or partially, motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death” (Seaton, 1996, p.240). According to him, thanatourism had to be placed in the context of the long tradition of thanatopsis, that is, the “contemplation of death”. As Seaton indicated, between medieval times and a part of the nineteenth century, with its peak during the romantic era, death was purposefully put “at the forefront of individual awareness” (Seaton, 1996, p.235) through several means: the collection of hourglasses and skulls by the rich, literature, art and, specially, through plays, paintings and sermons by the church.

Seaton noted that thanatopsis frequently involved travel: pilgrimages were undertaken to the places where martyrs died or saints were buried. He considered that this was the highest form of thanatopsis, as the encounter with death was not symbolic but real. According to him, thanatopsis served the purpose of diminishing the fear of death and making people ready for it: death was seen as a normal part of life. During romanticism, “castles, prisons, graveyards, battlefields and public executions” (Seaton, 1996, p.239) were visited and attended, being Pompeii the most important destination (Seaton, 1996, p.239).

Seaton believed that romanticism established the ideological foundations of thanatourism, which he considered to be defined by the motivation of the tourist (to have an encounter with death) and to exist in a continuum of intensity, being its purest expression the meditation upon death in general, without it being centered around a known person. Seaton identified five modalities of thanatourism (Seaton, 1996, p.240-242): Travel to witness public enactments of death; travel to see the sites of mass or individual deaths, after they have occurred; travel to internment sites of, and memorials to, the dead; travel to view the material evidence, or symbolic representations of death, in locations unconnected to their occurrence; and travel for re-enactments or simulation of death.

Seaton considered that nowadays, in contrast to the past, reflection upon death is highly condemned and that death itself is removed from our everyday lives. Therefore, thanatourism is a paradox. At the same time, he believed that tourism with an encounter with death as the main motivation is rare, and that it usually goes hand in hand with other driving factors.

Rojek (1993, p.137-145, in Rojek and Urry, 2003, p.62) made use of the concept “Black Spot” to refer to two types of places related to death. On the one hand, death sites like cemeteries where celebrities are buried or memorials to the memory of distinguished people; On the other, what he referred as “disaster sites and sites of notable deaths”. In this category, places like concentration camps, the killing fields of Cambodia or the place where Kurt Cobain committed suicide were included. He would later introduce the concept of “Sensation sights” (Rojek and Urry, 2003), which contained the places of the second typology, that is, the sites of “crashes, natural disasters, assassinations and bombings” (Rojek and Urry, 2003, p.65). That way, he would differentiate them from cemeteries and memorials.

Lennon and Foley introduced the term Dark Tourism and defined it as “the phenomenon which encompasses the presentation and consumption (by visitors) of real and commodified death and disaster sites” (Robinson, 2015, p.8). They wrote a book called “Dark Tourism: The Attraction of Death and Disaster” (2010) which was entirely dedicated to the subject. Aside from establishing the basic principles which, according to them, determine Dark Tourism, they addressed particular cases like the Nazi Concentration Camps and the places connected to the assassination of John F. Kennedy. Lennon and Foley believed that any site, in order to be considered a Dark Tourism one, should fulfill several conditions. The first one is that the popularity of a location should be linked to global media and communications: its portrayal in world-reaching platforms is responsible for its growth in relevance and tourist appeal. The second characteristic is that the site or object should cause uncertainty and doubt over modernity: it should make people question the foundations of progress. The third one is connected to the sites accepting its transformation and development into products that can be consumed. Finally, the events related to the location itself need to have happened “within the memories of those still alive to validate them” (Lennon and Foley, 2010, p.12).

Conforming to this view on Dark Tourism are the cases of the Titanic, which Lennon and Foley considered to be the beginning of Dark Tourism, the death of Kennedy and the Holocaust, among many others. For example, the interest that a site like Auschwitz causes world-wide is highly linked to its portrayal in newspapers, movies, literature and the media in general; It causes anxiety over modernity in the sense that the holocaust shows us how science and planning, by themselves, do not always lead to an increase in well-being: they can be used to inflict pain and provoke disaster. At the same time, Auschwitz has become a product that can be consumed, as it has been adapted so that people can visit it. Finally,

holocaust survivors and people that lived in that period can validate the tragedy. As we see, the conditions that Lennon and Foley established for the label Dark Tourism, which they consider “an intimation of post-modernity” (Lennon and Foley, 2010, p.11), are very exclusive.

Miles (2002) deemed necessary to introduce a new concept in order to distinguish sites associated with death, disaster and depravity from sites of death, disaster and depravity (Miles, 2002, p.1175). Dark Tourism, as we have seen in the definition of Lennon and Foley (Robinson, 2015), stands for the first type. Miles coined the term “darker tourism” to represent the visit to the second type, which he defined as “darker sites”. As an example, according to the distinction that Miles established, the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington would be a “dark site”, whereas the former concentration camp of Auschwitz-Birkenau would be a “darker site”. Miles indicated that darker sites, in contrast to dark sites, are more authentic due to its spatial advantage, and have it easier when it comes to creating empathy for the victims in the visitor.

Ashworth (2004) used the term “Atrocity heritage tourism”. As he stated, “the heritage of atrocity concerns the deliberate infliction by people of suffering on people” (Ashworth, 2004). Thus, Atrocity heritage tourism is the travel and visit to places associated with the suffering of people at the hands of other humans. According to Ashworth, for an event linked to atrocity to be suitable to become a tourism product it must fulfill several conditions: the existence of clearly defined victims and perpetrators; the innocence of the victims and the clear intention of the perpetrator to inflict harm on them; that the event is, for some reason (quantity of deaths, cruelty, etc.) out of the ordinary; and that the characteristics of the event make it one that will be remembered, alongside the fact that knowledge about it is produced and distributed. Ashworth identified three events that meet these conditions: The Holocaust, the Atlantic Slave Trade and the Apartheid in South Africa.

Blom (2005) coined the term “Morbid tourism” to refer to the type of tourism “that focuses on sudden violent death and which quickly attracts large numbers of people” and also to “attraction-focused artificial morbidity-related tourism” (Blom, 2005, p.10). According to him, this category includes places and events as diverse as cemeteries where celebrities are buried, houses where people have been murdered, sites of plane crashes, exhibitions like

Body Worlds, etc. According to Blom, “Morbid Tourism” is connected to that which is scary, macabre and aberrant, and stresses the role that the media plays in its development.

Tarlow (2005) defined Dark Tourism as “visitation to places where tragedies or historically noteworthy death has occurred and that continue to impact our lives” (Tarlow, 2005, p.48). Tarlow observed that “modern Dark Tourism” is linked to the audiovisual, that is, to films and television, which dictate which sites deserve to be visited and remembered and which do not. As he noted, the World Trade Center counts with a high affluence of daily visitors, while the daily tragedy of Africa is neglected. According to him, Dark Tourism is a product that contributes to the economy by using the past, thus sharing the opinion of Lennon and Foley (2010) that it involves commodification. Tarlow considered that Dark Tourism “comes in multiple forms” (Tarlow, 2005, p.54): a pretext to understand our own age; romanticism; barbarism; as part of national identity; a sign of decadence and a mystical experience.

3. Reasons for visiting Dark Tourism sites

Dann (1998) suggested eight explanations for Dark tourism. *Fear of phantoms* is related to the child inside of everyone of us. This is the pleasure of being scared by ghosts, demons and other fantastic figures and the good feeling that comes with having confronted the fear and won. *Chasing change* has to do with the desire for novelty, for the new and the different to the daily routine. *Yearning for Yesteryear* is connected to nostalgia: The weight of daily worries and the uncertainties of the future make people “seek consolation in the past” (Dann, 1998, p.28). *Nurture of nastiness* is linked to retribution, to the desire to see bad behaviour punished and the wrongdoer suffer. *Juggling Justice* has to do with people having sympathy for those who are likely to lose and have everything against them: Whether they are criminals or not, they tend to be glorified. *Present progress* is related to tourists visiting places that make them value more their current standard of living. As Dann notes, by visiting places where atrocities have happened, people appreciate that it did not happen to them. *Dicing with Death* has to do with people travelling to remote and dangerous places to meditate on mortality and have good material for travel writing. The last one is *Postmodern Promotion*, which links travel to Dark tourism sites with “the coverage they receive from the global media - television, film, novels, songs and the internet” (Dann, 1998, p.34).

Lennon and Foley (2010) considered that the people that visit Dark tourism sites for specific reasons, such as being a war enthusiast or the desire to visit the place where family members died comprise a very small amount of the dark tourists. It is their opinion that most people visit these sites due to serendipity, the fact that it was included in the tour they booked or out of curiosity because they happen to be in an area close to it.

Blom (2000) mentioned different possible motivations behind what he calls “morbid tourism”: the desire for novelty, for something different to what we see in our daily lives; the pursue of existential proximity, for places and people that give us meaning and a sense of authenticity; and the search for catharsis, an inner purification resulting from the confrontation with negative events and situations in a safe way.

Yuill (2003) conducted research on the motivations of american visitors to the Holocaust Museum Houston. The two main reasons behind the visit were preventative education and remembrance: to learn about the holocaust and remember it in order to prevent that such a

genocide could happen again. Yuill mentions that other factors emerged during the interviews, which she considers secondary, like guilt and curiosity and the fact that “museums were feasible means of coping with death and dying” (Yuill, 2003, p. 2008).

Slade (2003) discussed the motivations of Australians and New Zealanders visiting Gallipoli. He argued that the fact that people go to places where death has occurred does not mean that their reasons for the visit are thanatouristic: They can be very wide ranging and include religious reasons and even chance. Thus, he opposed Seaton’s views on thanatourism, for he considered that they attribute thanatouristic motives to all visitors to battlefields. He argued that even though it is true that Australians and New Zealanders visit a battlefield when they go to Gallipoli, the rationale for their visit has to do with nationhood, for Gallipoli represents the birth of their nations. The motivations for their visit have to do with identity and self-understanding in a national sense.

Seaton and Lennon (2004) theorized about the rationale behind thanatourism (they used it as an equivalent of Dark tourism) and identified two main drivers: *schadenfreude* and *thanatopsis*. *Schadenfreude* is a compound word of German origin which stands for the joy and pleasure that a person feels when seeing other people’s misfortunes and failure. When connected to thanatourism, this concept would imply that one possible reason for tourists traveling to Dark Tourism attractions is that they seek a sense of pleasure from the tragedy of other people. The other driver would be *thanatopsis*, which, as we have seen, Seaton (1996) developed deeply. According to this, thanatourism, the branch of *thanatopsis* which involves travel, would mean that people may go to Dark tourism sites to contemplate death and meditate upon it. However, Seaton and Lennon admitted that, as there are many different types of thanatouristic practices, motivations for visiting them may also vary, even though they had identified these two drivers considering thanatourism a “homogeneous, discrete entity” (Seaton and Lennon, 2004, p.74).

Ashworth (2004) established four main reasons why what he calls “atrocities tourism” has a demand, which are not mutually exclusive. He identified the following four arguments: *the curiosity argument*, that is, the desire to experience that which is rare, the curiosity for the uncommon; *the identity argument*, which is linked to self-understanding and self-identity (family history, spirituality and/or pilgrimage); *the horror argument*, which is linked to the attraction to the gruesome and horrid and *the empathy argument*, that has to do with the

ability of people to identify themselves with the narrative of a tragedy and, usually, its victims. Ashworth considers “atrocious tourism” as a “more narrowly defined aspect of dark tourism and thanatourism” (Ashworth, 2004, p.2). As he says, visitation to dark tourism sites is explained by multiple motives: Pilgrimage of penance and repentance for an assumed complicity (mea culpa tourism; a quest for identity (roots tourism); a search for knowledge (edutourism); a social mission to create a better future (lest we forget or never again tourism) and to obtain pleasure from violence and pain (“sado-masochistic pornographic tourism” being its extreme form) (Dann, forthcoming, in Ashworth, 2004).

Dunkley (2005, in Robinson, 2015), identified several reasons and interests behind thanatourism. These are: Morbid curiosity, pilgrimage, remembrance and empathy, contemplation, special interest, Thrill/risk seeking, validation, authenticity, self-discovery, iconic sites and convenience.

Durkin (2003) placed Dark Tourism in a similar position as Seaton (1996) and Seaton and Lennon (2004). Durkin alluded to the work of Fulton and Owen (1987) to affirm that people born after the Second World War do not have a direct experience of death, and that it has become an invisible an abstract entity (Durkin, 2003). Thus, people have anxiety around it. At the same time, though, he noted that many people are fascinated by death and everything related to it. Connected to this is the fact that death is very present in American popular culture (he focused on the USA), that is, in music, television and cinema, literature, recreation and even jokes. Durkin highlighted that this is a contradiction, and offered an explanation for it. Durkin believed that our lack of direct contact with death (that our forefathers had) makes us want information about it, which we try to satiate through popular culture. At the same time, by depicting and exploring death in popular culture we neutralize our anxiety about it: it becomes less threatening. As he says, “It appears that the thanatological themes in U.S popular culture function as a mechanism that helps Americans to deal with death” (Durkin, 2003, p.47). Durkin places dark tourism in the recreation category within popular culture, and it would serve the same purpose as the other ones: to offer a window into the reality of death which allows us to explore it.

Stone and Sharpley (2008) offered a similar explanation. First of all, he claimed that death, in the western world, had undergone a process of privatisation and medicalisation. The certainties that religion offered are slowly vanishing due to the secularisation of society and

the loss of faith. As he affirmed, “the reflexive deconstruction of religious orders [...] and the lack of stable replacement meaning systems, has tended to leave contemporary individuals isolated and vulnerable in the face of their inevitable end” (Stone and Sharpley, 2008, p.584). At the same time, death is no longer a communal event: it has been left to the medical specialists to deal with (Byock, 2002, in Stone and Sharpley, 2008). Drawing on the work of Durkin (2003), Stone referred to the paradox that is that death is absent from public life and that at the same time is very present in popular culture: “death appears institutionally hidden rather than forbidden, invisible rather than denied” (Stone and Sharpley 2008, p.585). He agreed with Durkin’s assertion that the depiction of death in popular culture is a way of bringing it back into the social consciousness (Stone and Sharpley, 2008). According to Stone, the role of Dark Tourism in contemporary society is connected to the place of death in society: to offer a space where people can contemplate it and come to terms with it, thus reducing the sense of dread and anxiety that it produces to us.

Hartmann (2009), considered that Holocaust tourism, which could be considered a subtype within Dark tourism, is mainly motivated by the desire to learn more about the tragedy and how it affected European Jews and the wish to commemorate the victims, as opposed to satisfy the curiosity of visiting the place where such horrible events took place.

Biran, Poria and Oren (2011), as part of a more extensive study, interviewed thirty people that planned to visit the Auschwitz concentration camp. They classified the motivations in four main groups: “See it to believe it”: visiting the camp in order to gain the understanding that it happened by being there; “Learning and understanding”: to gain knowledge about it; “famous death tourists attractions”: this has to do with visiting the place because it is well-known, due to an interest in death-related sites and in order to feel empathy with the victims. The last one is “emotional heritage experience”: this factor links the visit to a person’s wish to connect with one’s own heritage (e.g. survivors or descendants of them) and have an emotional experience.

Dunkley, Morgan and Westwood (2011) investigated the rationale behind the partake in a tour of the World War One battlefields of the Somme and Ypres by twenty-five British tourists under the age of sixty-five. The results showed that there were three main reasons for it: pilgrimage and remembrance for those whose relatives fought on them and those who identified with the suffering; validation, that is, visiting the site to really grasp and

comprehend what happened; and special interest: being particularly interested in war and the military.

Mowatt and Chancellor (2011) investigated (alongside other aspects) the reasons of fourteen americans of african ancestry for visiting Cape Coast Castle, in Ghana, which was a slave castle. Slave castles were the place where the slaves that would be sent to America stayed (Mowatt and Chancellor, 2011). They found that the main motivation of these people was to learn more about their roots and reclaim their heritage.

Bittner (2011) did research on the experiences that tourists seek when visiting Dark Tourism attractions. She interviewed ten croatian people that had visited some thanatouristic sites in different parts of the world: the study did not focus on any particular place. The results indicated that their main motivation was what Bittner referred to as a “cultural need” (Bittner, 2011, p.154): the desire to understand how these events and places influence the culture of the nations they affected.

Farmaki (2013) did research, as part of a broader study, on the reasons of local and foreign tourists to Nicosia, Cyprus, for visiting the National Struggle Museum and a memorial place where thirteen graves of members of EOKA (National Organization of Cypriot Fighters) can be found (Farmaki, 2013). The results of her investigation showed that for locals the visit was connected to national identity, education and remembrance. In the case of foreigners, it was connected to novelty and an interest in the culture of the country.

Mudzanani (2014) did research on the motives of visitors to the Hector Peterson Memorial and Museum in South Africa. The Memorial and Museum are dedicated to Hector Peterson, a student that participated in the marches against the introduction of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in schools, which received the name of the Soweto Riots: He died at the hands of the police (Mudzanani, 2014). According to his research, based on fifteen in-depth interviews, the reasons for the visit were several: wanting to experience something different (novelty), escapism, enhancement of kinship relations (spend time there with a loved one) , nostalgia (for those that participated in the marches), relaxation, education and the media .

Isaac and Çakmak (2014) studied the motivations of visitors for visiting the former Westerbork transit camp in the Netherlands. They surveyed two hundred and thirty-eight

Dutch visitors and the results were classified into four main motivators, which are: *self-understanding*, *curiosity*, *conscience*, *a must see place* and *exclusiveness*. *Self-understanding* includes the desire to commemorate the dead, empathy as a motivator for the visit, discover one's heritage, etc.; *Curiosity* is linked to wanting to learn and understand more of what happened; *Conscience* has to do with a feeling of social responsibility so that such a tragedy never happens again; *A must see place*, which is connected to the site being uncommon and also the place where the real events happened; and *exclusiveness*, that has to do with the site being famous, the desire to see it to believe it and the conception of the place as a pilgrimage site.

Robinson (2015) investigated the motivations of visitors to Dark tourism attractions according to Stone's Dark Tourism Spectrum (2006): Dark fun factories, Dark exhibitions, Dark Dungeons, Dark resting places, Dark Shrines, Dark conflict sites and Dark camps of genocide. As stated by him, the motivation to visit lighter sites was associated with the search for fun, education and entertainment at the same time and wanting to have an amusing experience with the family. On the other hand, the rationale behind the visit to darker sites was linked to empathy with those who suffered, academic interest and the desire to comprehend.

4. Reasons for visiting cemeteries

Seaton and Lennon (2004), when talking about the possible differences in motivation behind visits to different Dark tourism attractions, mentioned cemeteries. Without empirical research to support their claims, they stated several reasons that could explain visitations to burial grounds. They suggested the following ones: pilgrimages to pay tribute to significant others, public or personal; for their architectural significance; brass-rubbing; as part of a genealogical quest for family roots and ethnic history and to find peace and tranquillity. According to them, “travellers socialized within literary and cultural traditions of romanticism and the gothic” (Seaton and Lennon, 2004, p.77) may find them interesting because they make them feel “pleasurable feelings of melancholy”, “manageable feelings of nameless dread” or “a comforting sense of the immemorial continuity of life and death” (Seaton and Lennon, 2004, p.77). In relation to this, Seaton (1996) included visits to cemeteries (as well as memorials to the dead) as one of the categories in which thanatourism manifested itself. Thus, according to him, cemeteries are a place that some people visit to meditate upon death and mortality.

Tanás (2004) established four categories for cemetery tourism: religious; religious and educational; educational (cultural); and recreational. According to them, individuals can visit a burial ground as part of pilgrimage; to learn more about the place, the people buried there and the culture it belongs to or use the site as a place for walking and meeting other people.

Baidwan (2005), in his Phd dissertation titled “Six Feet from Fame: Exploring Dark Tourism Motivation at Marilyn Monroe's Grave”, identified curiosity as the main motivation of visitors to the Marilyn Monroe’s grave. Other reasons were being a fan of her, bonding with a friend, legitimizing the fact that Marilyn Monroe memorabilia are being sold, liking cemeteries, wanting a deeper connection with her and seeing a celebrity.

Raine (2013) based her research on three cemeteries: The Bunhill Fields Burial Ground, in London; St Mary’s Graveyard, in Whitby and The Weaste Cemetery, in Salford. Altogether, she interviewed twenty-three visitors, whom she asked about their reasons for the visit. The results of the investigation led to what she calls a “Dark Tourism Spectrum of visitors to ‘dark resting places’ ”(Raine, 2013, p. 247). The Spectrum is based on the Dark Tourism Typology that Stone (2006) developed. According to her typology, there is a range of dark tourists that range from “darkest” to “lightest”. Whether a visitor is darker or lighter is linked

to his relationship with the site as a cemetery and a place that is connected to death (Raine, 2013).

Raine identified the following kind of visitors, which she placed under themes: The mourners and pilgrims (Devotion), the morbidly curious and thrill seekers (Experience), the information seekers and hobbyists (Discover) and sightseers, retreaters and passive recreationists (Incidental). According to her, the greater the personal connection with the cemetery, the darker is the tourist. As an example, the mourners and pilgrims, that is, people who go to the cemetery to visit a dead relative or for religious reasons, are darker than the morbidly curious and thrill seekers, who go there “to confront and “experience death” (Raine, 2013, p.249) but have no personal connection to the site. Sightseers, retreaters and passive recreationist are the lightest on the spectrum, as their reason for the visit is often serendipity or the desire for a quiet place to walk and relax.

The Cemetery Research Group (CRG), who does research on cemetery history and policy in the UK, names four essential reasons for the visit to burial grounds: interest in local history, the love of nature, passive recreation (like walking) and education (Thomas, 2007, in Raine, 2013).

Mundt (2015) did research on the motivation and behaviour of tourists to the Glasnevin Cemetery in Dublin, Ireland. When it comes to the reasons for the visit, the most chosen options in the questionnaires were: being a participant in the *Cemetery/museum tour* (56.7%), *Historical interest* (43.3%), *1916 Rising Burial(s)* (36.7%) *Interest in cemeteries* (26,7%) and *Sightseeing in Dublin, Ireland* (23.3%). Other options with a lower score were: *Visiting a loved one’s grave* (10%) and *Research, Seeking Peace and Quiet, Walking/passing through and Contemplation of Life and Death* with a 3.3% each one. The option *Wanting to experience something supernatural* and *Other* were not chosen by anyone. Thirty people were surveyed and the answers amounted to sixty-eight in this particular questionnaire, as they were non-exclusive.

Robinson (2015), also explored the motivations behind cemetery visits as part of his Phd dissertation. His thesis focused on the Dark Tourism Spectrum that Stone (2006) developed and the motivations for the visit to each one of them. In Stone’s Spectrum cemeteries are categorized as “Dark resting places”.

Robinson interviewed two people for this category. The first one was a visitor to Aberfan, a Welsh village, where in 1966 a primary school was engulfed by a coal slurry and consequently one hundred and sixteen children and twenty eight adults died (Robinson, 2015). In the place of the tragedy there's now a garden of remembrance and nearby there is the local cemetery, where most of the deceased are buried (Robinson, 2015). For the interviewee, the visit to the graveyard was a sad experience, as she saw the graves of so many children. As Robinson notes, the main rationale for her visit was the desire to "better understand the level of grief as experienced by the families who lost loved ones" (Robinson, 2015, p.161).

The second person interviewed was a young woman who visited Dunkirk Town Cemetery, in France, where there are two Commonwealth war graves from the First and Second World Wars (Robinson, 2015). The motivation of the visit was education, as she wanted to understand better the period of time in which her great grandfather lived (Robinson, 2015). She visited Second World War cemeteries often, and her interest stemmed from a history teacher at school which made the passion for history grow in her and the diary of his great grandfather, who lived during the war and wrote about that time.

Pécsek (2015), researched about the attitude of visitors at the National Graveyard in Budapest: motivations for the visit were also studied. Fifty-two foreign visitors were surveyed and interviewed. The cemetery dates of 1847 and has an extension of fifty-six hectares (Pécsek, 2015). It has three thousand gravestones and mausoleums, and relevant Hungarian personalities such as Lajos Kossuth, Ferenc Deák and Lajos Batthyány are buried there (Pécsek, 2015). As Pécsek notes, the main reasons for the visits were the desire to escape from the stressful and noisy city life, wanting to enjoy the nature in it and expand cultural and historical knowledge. While at the cemetery, visitors engaged in several activities such as walking, visiting the funerary museum (which is in the cemetery), visiting famous tombs, taking photographs and doing research. As Pécsek indicates, none of the visitors talked about the "dark nature" of burial grounds (Pécsek, 2015). She drew the conclusion that "cemeteries created an additional value for city breakers, which were of cultural nature rather than associated with death or suffering" (Pécsek, 2015, p. 45).

Nordh, Evensen and Skår (2017) conducted an investigation to discover if cemeteries have restorative effects on its visitors. Their work is particularly interesting because their background is in landscape and urban planning: They approach the cemetery as a green space. It must be taken into consideration that cemeteries in northern Europe are usually greener than, for example, those in southern Europe. As the authors note, “cemeteries in Scandinavia are well-maintained green lungs in the urban fabric” (Nordh, Evensen, Skår, 2017, p.108). The study was undertaken in the Gamlebyen cemetery, in Oslo, where several interviews were done. Although the main interest of the researchers was to investigate the restorative effects of the cemeteries on visitors, motivations for visiting appeared during the interviews.

The main reasons that justified a visit to this cemetery, apart from visiting the grave of a loved one, were relaxation and escaping the stresses of daily life and have time to reflect and be alone. As the authors note, there is also an element of curiosity that is linked to three elements that are present there: nature, culture and history, which are also reasons that encourage people to visit the cemetery. As it is identified in the study, “the presence of graves is what encourages respectful behavior, reflection and contemplation” (Nordh, Evensen and Skår, 2017, p.115). Visitors could be seen sitting on a bench, strolling, walking with a trolley, walking the dog or tending the grave of a loved one.

In an article by Bethan Bell (Bell, 2017) for BBC News, Sheldon Goodman, cofounder of the *Cemetery Club*, which aside from being a blog full of stories of cemeteries and those buried in them works has a company that offers guided tours to cemeteries and talks on related subjects, says that one of the reasons for the increase of visitors to what he calls “libraries of the dead” is the celebrity deaths that have occurred in the past years (Bell, 2017). Goodman, asked for the rationale behind his interest in graveyards, says that it stems from the desire to know more about the people buried in them. This is also the case of Nicola Carpenter, who has a blog called “Beneath Thy Feet”, and explains that the curiosity to know about the people before her, their way of life and how they gave shape to the town she lives in is the driving factor for her (Bell, 2017).

Jim Tipton (also featured in the article), who is the creator of the website “Find a grave”, that serves as a database for graves of famous and unknown people, states that the motivation behind the setup of the website was his hobby of visiting the burial places of famous men and

women. The success of the website -50.000 daily searches and records of 159 million graves (Bell, 2017)- shows, as he notes, that many people have the same interest as he does. It also shows that many have an interest in genealogy.

5. Cemeteries as cultural heritage

A cemetery is a heritage resource that can be considered and studied by different disciplines, as it is more than simply a place where societies bury the deceased. A cemetery can be perceived as a socio-cultural resource, as it offers insight about the idiosyncrasy of a community of people; a material culture resource, for it is an architectural and an archeological structure; a historical resource, that is, a testimony of the past; a tourism resource, for it can be visited and offers education, entertainment and aesthetic value; and a religious one, as it is often used as a site of pilgrimage and the visit to the dead has frequently a religious component (Rogalewski 1979, Przybyszewska-Gudelis et al. 1979, Kruczek 1997 and Gawrecki 2000, in Tanaś, 2004).

According to Maddrell and Sidaway (2010), cemeteries belong to the category of “Deathscape”. They define it as “the places associated with the dead and for the dead” (Maddrell and Sidaway, in Young, Light, 2016, p.63), which are full of meanings and associations and where sometimes the public and the personal intertwine. As Young and Light note, “Deathscape” not only includes cemeteries, memorials and crematoria, but also roadside shrines, a seat in the pub or sports club, etc (Young and Light, 2016, p.63).

The World Heritage List of the UNESCO, which contains sites of outstanding universal value (UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 1992-2018), includes some cemeteries. A good example is the Skogskyrkogården, that can be found in Stockholm, Sweden. It was constructed in the early 20th century and it is relevant due to the coexistence of vegetation and architectural elements (UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 1992-2018). The cemetery stands out for its sobriety: footpaths are limited and the regimentation of the graves within the forest is not too strict (UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 1992-2018). The case of the Skogskyrkogården, which “is an outstanding example of the successful application of the 20th-century concept of architecture wholly integrated into its environment” (UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 1992-2018) makes us also think about the cemetery as a natural resource.

The dictionary definition of cemetery is “a large burial ground, especially not one in a churchyard” (Oxford Dictionary 2017). As we observe, this definition, which is not a very specific and technical one, does tell us that not every place that contains graves and dead people can be considered a cemetery. Consequently, questions related to what is a cemetery

and what it is defined by arise. Rugg (2000) identified five main types of burial spaces and defined their main characteristics. She differentiated between cemeteries, churchyards, mass graves, war cemeteries and pantheons.

According to her, a **cemetery** is usually established in or near a town or city. It has a well defined perimeter, generally demarcated by a wall or plants, and an entrance. As Rugg states, both elements “define the cemetery as a separate place with a special purpose” (Rugg, 2000, p.262). The cemetery allows the individual to be memorialized -each grave is registered and the identity of the dead is preserved- and has a clear aim: to be the place where the dead are buried -although not exclusively, as it can acquire other purposes and meanings that change over time, like issues related to health, privacy and protection-. Finally, a cemetery has a well-defined ownership, public or private and is to a greater or lesser extent considered sacred.

Another modality of cemetery, which is increasing in relevance, is the **pet cemetery**. They are run privately and harbour the bodies or cremated remains of the animal companions of many people. They reflect the attachment that many humans feel for animals in modern societies (Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment, 2007).

Francaviglia (1971), referring to the cemeteries in the United States, said that they were a “microcosm of the real world”, which reflected the architectural and spatial preferences and prejudices of particular generations of men. According to him, cemeteries have two functions: to be a place where the dead are buried, which is the practical aspect; and to be a site where the living can communicate with them, the spiritual one. Thus, as he notes, they are “both sacred and profane” (Francaviglia, 1971, p.51).

Related to this sacred aspect of cemeteries, Francis (2003), considers that they are the location where the the living and the dead can become one through the practice of transition and memorial rites. She believes that the elements of the cemetery, that is, the graves, headstones and lots, contribute to the maintenance of the individual identities of the dead by placing them in ordered time and living space.

Churchyards are usually smaller than cemeteries and tend to be in the middle of a municipality. Although both share the fact that they have an entrance and a clear extension,

differences exist. In churchyards, graves are usually not as orderly organised and the individuality of each one of them is not as clear as in cemeteries. As Rugg states, “[...] graves often have markers, but the sense of each grave having a particular address is far less obvious [...]” (Rugg, 2000, p.265). When it comes to ownership, graveyards are commonly property of the National Church, and location wise are frequently next to a church. Rugg considers that the defining characteristic of a graveyard is that its ownership and purpose are linked with sacredness.

As Rugg explains, the term **burial ground** can be used as a general term that refers to every burial place, including the cemetery. But it can also be another type of resting place, which is smaller, more informal and related to identity. When it comes to structure, these places are similar to cemeteries: They have a defined extension and an entrance, although the markers on the graves are culturally determined. They are usually owned by large families and ethnic or religious minorities: There they practice their own funerary rituals and the site helps them preserve and express their identities.

Mass graves are the type of burial space that is most different to the others. As Rugg notes, these are places in which high numbers of people are buried, and due to the fact that all the bodies are laid down together, each body does not have individual identity. Mass graves are usually the product of malady, genocide, famine and catastrophe and their boundaries are difficult to establish, sometimes even non-existent (Rugg, 2000). Due to its lack of structure and preservation of individual identity, mass graves are usually not considered a sacred place, even though they can become one through the years and attract pilgrims (Rugg, 2000).

War cemeteries serve as the place of burial for military members that have died in warfare. As Rugg notes, war cemeteries, like mass graves, were created to inter huge numbers of people, but they are very different in nature. This type of cemeteries have a clear extension, internal organisation and individuality is respected: Each particular grave is easily located. Rugg notes that in war cemeteries, in contrast to the civic ones, the people that are laid to rest are rarely locals: They can come from other cities, countries or continents. When it comes to purpose, “recalling the horror of a particular catastrophe” (Rugg, 2000, p.271) seems to be the main one, even more than individual remembrance. The ownership of war cemeteries is usually at the hands of national and international agencies.

Pantheons are the last type of resting place on Rugg's list. They are usually owned by the state and have a strong national relevance. In this kind of burial ground are usually buried significant personalities of a country (writers, poets, politicians, etc.) but not always, as it is not rare to only find visual representations of them, like in the Walhalla near Regensburg, Germany. Pantheons are considered a sacred place, not due to religious qualities, but because of the distinguished nature of the buried or represented. As Rugg notes, visits to Pantheons are often linked with an element of pilgrimage and sightseeing rather than grief and loss.

6. Categories of cemetery visitors' motivations

As we have seen in the previous chapter, "Reasons for visiting cemeteries", some academics and professionals involved in Cemetery Tourism have theorized and conducted research on the motivations that drive people to visit cemeteries. On the one hand, many of the reasons mentioned have been identified by several authors, who have included them in more or less specific categories; on the other hand, diverse motivations have been only mentioned once. At the same time, some of them are supported by fieldwork, that is, through surveys and interviews with cemetery visitors, while others lack tangible investigation to justify them.

In order to gain a deeper understanding of the state of the art in relation to cemetery visitors' motivations, as well as to obtain a clear picture of it that will assist us in the development of the surveys that will be filled out by a relevant sample of visitors to the Rakowicki cemetery, a new categorisation of the motivations will be undertaken. Those reasons common to several authors will be included together under a new category; those that were only mentioned once, but that have their relevance justified by one reason or another, will constitute a category by themselves; and the motivations that were only mentioned once and whose self-justification as a category is not strong enough, will not be considered.

Next, and as a first step in the process of establishing categories for the motivations, a summary in the form of boards of cemetery visitors' motivations according to authors is presented.

Seaton and Lennon (2004)	Seaton (1996)
Categories	Categories
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Pilgrimages to pay tribute to significant others, public or personal ● Architectural significance ● Brass-rubbing ● Genealogical quest for family roots and ethnic history ● Find peace and tranquillity <p>For travellers socialized within the traditions of romanticism and the gothic:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Get pleasurable feelings of melancholy; manageable feelings of nameless dread; a comforting sense of immemorial continuity of life and death 	<p>As one of the manifestations of Thanatourism:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● To meditate upon death and mortality

Tanás (2004)	Baidwan (2005), Marilyn Monroe's grave
Categories	Categories
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Religious (pilgrimage) ● Religious and educational ● Educational (cultural): to learn about the place, the people buried there and the culture it belongs to ● Recreational: Walking and meeting other people 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Curiosity ● Being a fan of her ● Bonding with a friend ● Legitimizing the fact that Marilyn Monroe memorabilia are being sold ● Liking cemeteries ● Wanting a deeper connection with her ● Seeing a celebrity

Raine (2013), three cemeteries in the UK	Cemetery Research Group
Categories	Categories
<p>According to her typology of dark tourists:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Mourners and pilgrims (Devotion): to visit a dead relative or personal hero; significance to personal interests; to have a mystical experience and for religious reasons ● Morbidly curious and thrill seekers (Experience): to confront and experience dead ● Information seekers and hobbyists (Discover): interest in local history and education and to practice a hobby (take photographs, visit cemeteries, etc) ● Sightseers, retreaters and passive recreationists (Incidental): Because it is an interest area; serendipity; break from the city or the desire for a quiet place to walk and relax 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Interest in local history ● Love of nature ● Passive recreation (like walking) ● Education

Mundt (2015), Glasnevin Cemetery in Dublin	
<p>Higher score:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Partaking in a cemetery/museum tour ● Historical Interest ● 1916 Rising Burial(s) ● Interest in cemeteries ● Sightseeing in Dublin, Ireland 	<p>Lower score:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Visiting a loved one's grave ● Research ● Seeking peace and quiet ● Walking/passing through ● Contemplation of life and death

Robinson (2015)	
Aberfan	Dunkirk Town Cemetery
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Desire to understand the level of grief that the families of the deceased experienced 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Understand the period of time in which a family member lived ● Interest in history

Pécsek (2015) , National Graveyard in Budapest	Nordh, Evensen and Skår (2017) , Gamlebyen cemetery in Oslo	Bell (2017)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● To escape from the stressful and noisy city life ● Wanting to enjoy the nature in the cemetery ● To expand cultural and historical knowledge 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Relaxation and escaping the stresses of daily life ● To have time to reflect and be alone ● Curiosity (linked to nature, culture and history) ● To tend the grave of a loved one 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● To visit dead celebrities ● Desire to know more about people buried in cemeteries and how they impacted their surroundings ● Interest in genealogy

The next step is to group together some of these motivations, which will be placed under new categories. In each one of the boards that follow we will see, on the left, a list of motivations of similar nature by author; and on the right, the name of the category that arises from them and serves to define all of them.

1. Pilgrimage

Motivations	Category
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pilgrimages to pay tribute to significant others, public or personal (Seaton and Lennon) • Religious (Pilgrimage) (Tanás) • Being a fan of her (Baidwan) • Wanting a deeper connection with her (Baidwan) • Seeing a celebrity (Baidwan) • To visit a dead relative or personal hero (Raine) • To have a mystical experience (Raine) • For religious reasons (Raine) • Visiting a loved one's grave (Mundt) • To tend the grave of a loved one (Nordh, Evensen and Skår) • To visit dead celebrities (Bell) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pilgrimage

The first category is “pilgrimage”. As we appreciate in the column “motivations”, the rationale behind going to a cemetery can be to visit a deceased family member or someone for religious reasons (a religious leader or a saint, for example) or for admiration. In this last case, we can think of celebrities and relevant personalities whose graves receive, year by year, numerous visits: Jim Morrison, Marilyn Monroe or Elvis are good examples of this.

It is safe to say that the most common of the reasons are going to a cemetery in order to visit a family member and to tend their grave. As we have mentioned, there are also religiously motivated visits, as well as spiritual in general, as it is the case of the motivation “have a mystical experience”. Finally, people visit graveyards in order to pay their respects to dead celebrities and personalities because they are fans of them and/or admire them. Some people, through spending some time near the grave of their personal heroes, desire to establish a deeper connection with them.

2. Practice a hobby

Motivations	Category
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brass-rubbing (Seaton and Lennon) • To practice a hobby (take photographs, visit cemeteries, etc.) (Raine) • Significance to personal interests (Raine) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To practice a hobby

The second category is named “to practice a hobby”. As we see in the column on the left, Seaton and Lennon and Raine state that some people visit cemeteries in order to practice an activity that they enjoy, like taking photographs or brass-rubbing, or because it is related to a personal interest (eg. that an specific cemetery appears in a novel they like).

3. Identity

Motivations	Category
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• As part of a genealogical quest for family roots and ethnic history (Seaton and Lennon)• Interest in genealogy (Bell)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Identity

The third category is “Identity”. It includes those motivations that have to do with an interest in discovering one’s own roots, whether familial (genealogy) or ethnical. Although it is not explicitly mentioned in the literature reviewed, this category does not exclude visits to cemeteries out of an interest in genealogy in general, that is, not necessary related to one’s own family.

4. Escapism, relaxation and passive recreation

Motivations	Category
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To find peace and tranquillity (Seaton and Lennon) • Recreational: Walking and meeting other people (Tanás) • Bonding with a friend (Baidwan) • The desire for a quiet place to walk and relax (Raine) • Break from the city (Raine) • Passive recreation (like walking) (Cemetery Research Group) • Seeking peace and quiet (Mundt) • To escape from the stressful and noisy city life (Pécsek) • Relaxation and escaping the stresses of daily life (Nordh, Evensen and Skår) • To have time to reflect and be alone (Nordh, Evensen and Skår) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Escapism, relaxation and passive recreation

The fourth category is named “Escapism, relaxation and passive recreation”. It encompasses all motivations that have to do with a search for peace, introspection and escaping the everyday life of the city and passive recreation, like walking/strolling. Using the cemetery as a place to meet with people and bonding with friends is included in this category.

5. Contemplation of death

Motivations	Category
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• To meditate upon death and mortality (Seaton)• To confront and experience death (Raine)• Contemplation of life and death (Mundt)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Contemplation of death

The term “Thanatopsis” has been mentioned in the literature review, which means “contemplation of death”. According to Seaton, Raine and Mundt, some people visit cemeteries because they want to meditate upon mortality and the end, confront it and experience it. While Seaton took a more historical approach, that is, explaining the concept of thanatopsis, its links with Christianity and the Romantic, Raine and Mundt undertook some fieldwork in cemeteries: Contemplation of death was one of the motivations that arose and the name that the fifth category takes.

6. Education and research

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational (cultural): To learn about the place, the people buried there and the culture it belongs to (Tanás) • Interest in local history and education (Raine) • Interest in local history (Cemetery Research Group) • Education (Cemetery Research Group) • Historical interest (Mundt) • Research (Mundt) • Understand the period of time in which a family member lived (Robinson) • Interest in history (Robinson) • To expand cultural and historical knowledge (Pécsek) • Desire to know more about people buried in cemeteries and how they impacted their surroundings (Bell) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education and research
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The next category is “Education and research”. It includes the motivations that are justified by an interest in learning about the history and culture of a cemetery and the place where it is located, do research and wanting to know more about the people buried there and how they influenced their surroundings. It is debatable whether this last point should be included in this category or in “Identity”, as it could be interpreted as an interest in genealogy. In this case, the interpretation has been more historical, that is, how individuals have lived and shaped their towns and cities, being their lineages and family trees of small importance.

7. Place of interest

Motivations	Category
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Because it is an interest area (Raine)• Sightseeing in Dublin, Ireland (Mundt)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Place of interest

The category “Place of interest” includes visits to a cemetery because it is an interest area, that is, because it is a must see place according to tourism agencies, touristic flyers or reputation, but not because visitors are attracted to any particular aspect of it. That means that if it was not a place of interest they would not visit it. At the same time, and related to the first motivation, this category includes those visitors that go to a cemetery as part of a visit to the city they are in, which in the case of the study that Mundt undertook was Dublin.

8. Nature

Motivations	Category
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Love of nature (Cemetery Research Group)• Wanting to enjoy the nature in the cemetery (Pécsek)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Nature

The category “Nature”, which is mentioned by the Cemetery Research Group and Pécsek, refers to those visits to a cemetery which have the love of nature and the desire to enjoy it as the main rationale. As it has been explained before, not all cemeteries have relevant green spaces -we have noted the differences between northern and southern european cemeteries in this area-, which means that this motivation is specific to certain burial grounds.

9. Serendipity

Motivation	Category
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Serendipity (Raine)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Unplanned

The ninth category is “Unplanned”, and includes visits to a cemetery that are incidental: someone visits it because he or she happens to be near it. This motivation was also mentioned by Lennon and Foley as the main one for Dark Tourism attractions.

10. Architectural significance

Motivation	Category
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• For their architectural significance (Seaton and Lennon)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Architectural significance

This category includes the motivations that are linked to an interest in the architecture of the graveyard, the design of its graves, mausoleums, avenues and general appearance.

11. Curiosity

Motivation	Category
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Curiosity (Baidwan)• Curiosity (linked to nature, culture and history) (Nordh, Evensen and Skår)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Curiosity

Curiosity, which is defined as “a strong feeling of wanting to find out about something” (Macmillan Dictionary, 2018), is the eleventh category. It can be general or linked to specific elements of the cemetery (like nature, culture and history), but is not as strong as an interest or a more focused desire. These visits are the product of a “Let’s see what we find there” attitude.

Some of the motivations mentioned by some authors have not been included in this categorisation. In the case of liking and having an interest in cemeteries (Baidwan, 2005 and Mundt, 2015) it has been considered that they were too vague as motivations. Someone likes or has an interest in cemeteries for a reason (its architecture, people buried in it, etc.). This way, this love of cemeteries could be further specified through more precise questions in an interview or survey.

“Legitimizing the fact that Marilyn Monroe memorabilia are being sold” (Baidwan, 2005) has been considered a too specific reason of the Marilyn Monroe’s grave, the same way that “1916 Rising Burial(s)” (Mundt, 2010) and “Desire to understand the level of grief that the families of the deceased experienced” (Robinson, 2015) are very particular: The first of the Glasnevin Cemetery in Dublin and the second of the local cemetery of Aberfan, Wales, where a tragedy took place and many children died. “Partaking in a cemetery/museum tour” (Mundt, 2010) is also very specific, as not all cemeteries organize tours. It could be argued, again, that someone takes part in a tour for a reason, which would be the motivation for partaking in the tour. Walking/passing through (Mundt, 2010) stands for those people that are in the cemetery because it is a shortcut to somewhere else. This motivation is excluded as this kind of presence in the cemetery will not be considered a visit per se. Finally, Seaton and Lennon (2004) talk about motivations like seeking “pleasurable feelings of melancholy”, “manageable feelings of nameless dread” and “a comforting sense of immemorial continuity of life and death”, which travellers interested in the gothic and the romantic might seek. This motivations are excluded, as it is not clear what they mean (what causes these feelings of melancholy and dread?) and it is possible that they could be partially included in the category “Contemplation of death”. Aside from being confusing, they are not based on fieldwork, so there is not any strong reason to include them in any category.

7. The Rakowicki Cemetery

The Rakowicki Cemetery is the biggest and oldest cemetery in Kraków and was founded between 1801 and 1822. The area was purchased by a Carmelite Order and the costs of its building were defrayed by Kraków and the nearby localities. Its construction is related to the prohibition of burial in the church cemeteries that already existed in the city. As we have seen, there were health-related concerns about graveyards adjacent to churches across the whole Europe.

It has an extension of almost 42.18 hectares and contains around seventy-five thousand graves. In this necropolis, whose first burial took place in 1803, are buried both regular citizens and remarkable Polish personalities. Amongst others, here we can find the graves of distinguished Polish individuals like the historical painter Jan Matejko, the actress Helena Modjeska, the Nobel Prize in Literature Wisława Szymborska, the poet Marek Grechuta or the painter and theater director Matusz Kantor. In the cemetery, in the area known as the military cemetery, also rest the parents and brother of the former Pope Jan Paweł II. According to custom, he is buried in the Vatican City; However, visitors can find a monument to his memory in the cemetery, close to the graves of his family members.

The area of the Rakowicki Cemetery called the Military Cemetery owes its name to the fact that it was used as one in the past. It was created in 1920 and contains the graves of the fallen in the 1863-1865 January Uprising against the Russian Empire, soldiers of different nationalities who fought in the First and Second World Wars and also soldiers of the Polish army (Krakowskie Biuro Festiwalowe, 2016).

Apart from the addition of the military burial ground in 1920, the Rakowicki Cemetery was expanded three times: In 1863, 1885 and 1933. The design of the old part of the cemetery resembles a gate, which represents the transition from the ordinariness of earthly life to eternity (Zarząd Cmentarzy Komunalnych w Krakowie, 2017). At the center of it, there is a chapel. The Cemetery is not only relevant for containing the graves of memorable people, but also for its aesthetic value: An example of it is the sculpture named "Angel of Vengeance", which was created in the memory of those that died in the shelling of Kraków by Austrians in 1848 (Krakowskie Biuro Festiwalowe, 2016). Some of the gravestones were designed by well-known Polish architects and sculptors. It is also the case of the already mentioned old

section of the cemetery, which was designed by Karol Kremer. The Cemetery is included in the register of monuments of Kraków.

8. Methodology

As it has been indicated before, the purpose of the present work is to do research on visitors' motivations for visiting the Rakowicki Cemetery and, with it, contribute to the growing field of cemetery tourism research. Prior to mentioning which has been the chosen method for the investigation, it is important to first step into the domain of semantics.

According to the Oxford Dictionaries (2018), a visitor is “a person visiting someone or somewhere, especially socially or as a tourist”. Conforming to this definition, everyone visiting a cemetery would be considered a visitor, whether they are tourists (local or foreigners) with no familial connection to the site -that is, seeing it for diverse reasons-, or locals tending the graves of their loved ones, going there to spend time with them, etc. As it is defined in the same dictionary, “tourist” is “a person who is travelling or visiting a place for pleasure”. For the purpose of this study it has been deemed more optimal to use the term visitor over tourist. The reason for that is that visitor is more precise, as it includes the term tourist in it, does not necessarily involve travel or pleasure and it encompasses both locals and non-locals.

For the present work, the term visitor will only apply to those people that visit the cemetery without having any family member or friend buried in it. Part of the interest of this research is discovering the motivations that people have for going to a place that apparently there is no reason to visit, as it is for the dead and its loved ones. Why would anyone want to visit a place where people are interred?

The method of inquiry chosen for the research is the structured interview, which is a qualitative technique. As Alsaawi (2014) indicates, the structured interview requires the interviewer to plan in advance, that is, to write down the questions that will be asked. Due to its nature, this type of interview (as opposed to the unstructured interview and partly to the semi-structured interview) is restrictive in relation to the ability of the inquirer to interrupt and of the respondent to develop his answers (Alsaawi, 2014). However, the structured interview has the advantage of preventing the interview to digress (Bryman, 2008, in Alsaawi, 2014) and is good for researchers who know exactly what kind of information they are seeking (Dörnyei, 2007, in Alsaawi, 2014). As Edwards and Holland (2013, p.3) assert, with structured interviews “the major objective is for neutral interviewers to obtain

comparable information from a potentially large number of subjects”. In the case of this study, the sample was of one hundred respondents and the purpose of the interviewer was to ask the set of questions without influencing the interviewees in any way. According to Hofisi, Hofisi and Mago (2014), structured interviews facilitate the engagement of respondents and allow standardization and replication.

As it is stated in the Qualitative Research Guidelines Project website (Cohen D, Crabtree B, 2006), the main characteristics of the structured interview are the following: The questions are prepared before the actual interview, that is, it involves pre-planning; the same questions are asked to each of interviewees; there is consistency in the order and phrasing of the questions from respondent to respondent; the inquirer has a neutral role, he does not state his opinion and answers do not show big differences in their structure.

As stated by D. Cohen D and B. Crabtree B (2006), the structured interview demands that the subject matter is very clear and that there is a good comprehension of it. This kind of qualitative technique requires the interviewer only to ask the questions according to the interview guide and does not require him to build rapport with the respondents (Cohen D, Crabtree B, 2006). The systematic approach of the structured interview allows the production of “consistent data that can be compared across a number of respondents” (Cohen D, Crabtree B, 2006).

The interviews, conducted in the Rakowicki cemetery in Kraków, took place during the months of March and April 2018. At first, the research was going to be undertaken exclusively during the weekends, that is on Saturdays and Sundays until the target was reached, which, as it has been mentioned, was of one hundred interviews. However, due to the low affluence to the cemetery, the strategy was changed and interviews were done also during the week. Eighteen days were necessary to reach it. The number of hours spent in the cemetery and the days when the interviews were undertaken had to do with the possibility of the interviewer of being there as well as meteorological conditions.

In practical terms, the process of interviewing followed the same pattern in each one of the sessions. The interviewer walked around the cemetery searching for people that appeared to be looking at the graves, that were taking pictures of them or walked around the cemetery without a clear purpose. People that were seen tending graves, lighting candles or carrying

flowers were not approached. First of all, because it was suspected that they were there due to family members buried in the cemetery, which was not the target of the research; secondly, out of respect, as it was deemed preferable not to approach anyone in case of doubt of their motivations, as the subject at hand and the context in which it is undertaken is very delicate.

Another element that was taken into consideration was if people were alone or in groups of two or more people. As a general rule, in the case of groups of two-four people only one of them was interviewed; in groups of five or more, two people were taken as respondents. The purpose behind this rule was to favour answers as authentic as possible, as the influence of people's perceptions, especially in groups, could be huge from one person to another.

Thus, the interviews were conducted face to face, and the interviewer brought several printed copies of the questions with him, one for each respondent. The interviewees were asked if they wanted to participate in the study, which would be conducive to the increase in knowledge in the academic field of Cemetery tourism and to the interviewers' Master's thesis. As the questions were asked, the interviewer took notes of what they interviewees replied, filling the gap under each one of the questions. This was done respecting as much as possible the exact words of the respondents. After each interview, the notes taken were rewritten into a fair copy in situ.

All the interviews were conducted in english, which supposed a limitation on the study, as most of the interviewees were not native speakers. This might have limited in some way their capacity of expressing themselves regarding their motivations, feelings and perceptions and affected their choice of words. In a few cases people were approached but the interview could not take place due to the impossibility of doing it in english.

Most of the one hundred respondents were polish, but there were also several foreign interviewees from diverse countries. This diversity is tangible also in their age range. The following tables, showing the number of people by country of origin and age segment are shown only for informative purposes, as this is a study of a qualitative nature. When it comes to the gender of the inquired, fifty-four males and forty-six females were interviewed.

Respondents by country of origin

Country of origin	Number of respondents
Poland	56
UK	10
Germany	6
France	4
Italy	3
Spain	2
Hungary	2
The Netherlands	2
Belgium	2
USA	2
Bulgaria	1
Finland	1
Austria	1
Portugal	1
Switzerland	1
Slovakia	1
Sweden	1
Slovenia	1
Greece	1
New Zealand	1
Mexico	1

Respondents by age segment

Age segment	Number of respondents
20-29	25
30-39	28
40-49	30
50-59	12
60-69	5

Regarding the questions that were asked during the interviews, they are shown in the next page. The interview consisted of two parts: “Core questions” and “Other relevant questions”. The “core questions” are the essential ones: Absolutely necessary for the study. The “other relevant questions” are interesting to further investigate on the subject and they would only be asked if deemed appropriate: If the interview went well and the interviewees had enough time. Finally, as the main questions took lots of time it was decided to only stick with the core ones. The questions were formulated in a way that all of them helped bring to light the motivations of the visitors, sometimes by asking indirect questions apparently not related to the motivation: This has to do with the fact that people often do not consciously know their motivation, but their thoughts or behaviour reveal it.

Questions of the interview

- Country of origin:
- Age:
- Gender:

Core questions

- ❖ Is this the first time that you visit the Rakowicki Cemetery or you have been here before? (If applicable: How often do you come here?)
- ❖ Why did you decide to come to this cemetery? What is the purpose of the visit?
- ❖ How does visiting the cemetery make you feel? What feelings do you experience? Are they positive or negative?
- ❖ What do you think about during the visit? What kind of thoughts do you have?
- ❖ What do you do while you are here?
- ❖ How much time do you spend/plan to spend in the cemetery?
- ❖ Do you think about death while you are here? Do you use the visit to meditate upon life and mortality? Is it a primary reason for your visit?
- ❖ What have you been doing before coming?
- ❖ What will you do after the visit?
- ❖ How does the visit affect the rest of the day for you? (in terms of type of activities)
- ❖ Did you plan the visit in advance?

9. Results

In the methodology section it has been mentioned which has been the sample of population interviewed in the cemetery: One hundred visitors without any familial ties in it. As it has been shown, the origin of the respondents has resulted to be diverse, although mostly polish. As this is a qualitative study, all the information related to nationality, age and gender of the interviewees will not be discussed here.

When it comes to the results of the interviews, they will be presented in accordance to the categories that were established in the section “Categories of cemetery visitors’ motivations”. These categories were created and justified on the basis of academic research, both theoretical and fieldwork-based. The categories, which are eleven, are the following:

1. Pilgrimage
2. To practice a hobby
3. Identity
4. Escapism, relaxation and passive recreation
5. Contemplation of death
6. Education and research
7. Place of interest
8. Nature
9. Serendipity
10. Architectural significance
11. Curiosity

In order to classify every interview in a category, each one of the answers to the interview’s questions were analysed. Each one of the questions, as it has been explained, served the purpose of clarifying the motivations’ behind the respondents’ visit. Depending on the interview, some questions or others gave the clue to the real rationale of the visit, as in some occasions the motives described by the interviewee -that is, the conscious motivation- were in disagreement with his or her thoughts, feelings and actions. The fact that this eleven categories were created does not mean that all of them have emerged in the classification of the results. According to the analysis, eight categories out of the eleven fit with some of the interviews. In the following lines the results will be presented according to these categories,

the answers given by the interviewees will be discussed and the reasoning of the classification will be explained. The order of discussion of each one of the categories and the answers that justify it will be based on their relevance, that is, that more interviews match with it.

Curiosity

A total number of twenty-five interviews fit into the category “Curiosity” due to the nature of their answers. As it will be explained, this category and some others, especially “Education and research” are differentiated by a very thin line. As we have seen, curiosity equates to the desire to know more about something, but without reaching the level of an interest. Actually, this is exactly what makes some of the interviews match with this category and not with others: It is the lack of commitment by thoughts and feelings to the reason that is given as the main one for the visit.

First of all, the motivations for the visit can vary a bit from respondent to respondent because curiosity can be linked to different aspects such as nature, culture or history (Nordh, Evensen and Skår, 2017), amongst others. Now some of the reasons given by the interviewees will be presented and it will be clear that apparently they could belong to another category different than curiosity.

Some of the reasons are the following: The cemetery is part of polish heritage and thus a cultural place like any other (as a cemetery it is part of polish culture and history); famous and remarkable polish personalities are buried here; It is a catholic cemetery; There are Commonwealth War Graves; There is a military cemetery; Some people that died in concentration camps are buried here; Polish people that participated in uprisings are buried here as well as people that died in the World Wars; The graves and sculptures of the cemetery seemed aesthetically attractive; The visitor likes old cemeteries.

As it can be appreciated, the reasons are very diverse and they could perfectly fit in categories such as “Education and research” or “Architectural significance”. What makes these interviews not fit with these categories is the fact that the interviewees did not claim to be thinking thoughts related to the supposed rationale behind the visit. Some of the thoughts that were had by respondents are presented now:

The vegetation in the cemetery, which is very green; The candles, the flowers and the trees that are in the cemetery; The artwork in the graves and the appearance of the cemetery; The christian graves and symbols and their meaning; the configuration of the cemetery, the distribution of the graves in it; The beauty of the place; The difference between funerary

design between now and the past; A bit about everything; Nothing special; Daily matters and things unrelated to the cemetery; What people are buried there and what kind of lives they had; About death and mortality; The purpose and meaning of life; If there is justice after we die and if we will meet with our loved ones; That “we are always involved in wars” and “we are screwed-up as people” (Respondent 7); whatever is in front of me;

It is important to stress that these thoughts do not match with the original motivation given by the interviewees. They reflect what they were thinking at the moment but, as they are very different to the reason given, we can attest that the original interest was not strong enough to maintain all their focus during the visit. This is the reason why it is claimed that they were curious but did not have a focused desire. As an example, respondent seventy-nine claimed that the reason for the visit was that “there are lots of famous people buried here”. On the other hand, when asked about his thoughts, he said that he thought about the aesthetics of the place, that is, the appearance of the graves and its ornamentation. He did not mention anything about the people buried there, neither that he was thinking about the identity of the people of the graves he encountered nor trying to find the most relevant ones. Similarly, respondent forty-one said that the motivation for the visit was the fact that important people are buried in the cemetery: Though when inquired about his thoughts, he replied that what occupied his mind was the beauty of the graves and how different they are to the newer graves and cemeteries.

To summarize the results that match with this category, some of the participants in the interviews were curious about different elements of the cemetery, mainly of cultural, historical and aesthetic nature, but not enough to consider it an interest, as their attention was not fully focused on it, but was open to other inputs and impressions in a way that excluded the claimed motivation for the visit: They did not think about it or if they did, not in a leading and primary way.

Education and research

As it has been explained, the category “Education and research” encompasses the motivations that are linked to wanting to gain knowledge about a variety of things, mainly history and culture: The people buried there, the history of the cemetery, the culture it belongs to, etc. Twenty respondents gave answers that matched with this category.

The reasons that were claimed for the visit are no different than the ones shown in the previous category, as the difference between both categories is the curiosity/interest factor: The grade in which the visit is conditioned by the motivation in terms of thoughts and, in some cases, also by feelings and behaviours is the critical element.

Thus, some of the motivations given by participants are the following: Interest in the Commonwealth War Graves and military cemeteries; Interest in war history; Graves of soldiers; Important polish people buried in the cemetery; To discover more about polish culture, especially because the cemetery reflects part of it and its traditions; Monument to the victims of communism.

Another relevant aspect in relation to this category is the ability of some interviewees to be specific in the explanation of their motivations. It can not be said though that any motivation that is specific is automatically “Education and research” instead of “Curiosity”: If motivation and thoughts do not match that motivation will not be included in this category. But it is definitely a significant factor.

Even though it has not been mentioned, some of the respondents whose answers matched with the previous category made reference to specific people, like the fact that the family of the Pope John Paul II is buried there. It is also the case of some interviews that are included in “Education and research” in which the graves of remarkable people like Jan Matejko (polish painter), Hanna Helena Chrzanowska (nurse), Juliusz Kossak (painter) and Józef Mehoffer (painter) were mentioned. It must be said though, that most of the participants were not very specific in the description of the motivations, which leads to the thought that probably the intention to learn is more general than focused on a particular grave or thing. Although some painters and personalities were mentioned, it must be taken into account that the names were pronounced in the context of an interest in the place as a burial ground for

important people, not that the motivation for the visit was because of them, which would be categorised as “Pilgrimage”.

The thoughts of the respondents showed a direct link with their motivations in most of the cases. This does not exclude other thoughts, but they coexist with the primary ones. The inquired thought about history and the relation between the graves and their historical context; How lucky we are that now there is peace and democracy in Poland; About how much heritage does Poland have in terms of art, culture, science, religion; About the people buried here, who they were and how they lived; the role of one’s own country during World War II; The suffering that war produced in people; How many lives of young people were wasted in the wars; The epigraphs on the graves; What might the sculptures on the graves represent; the importance of keeping the memory of those who fought for freedom alive.

Answers regarding feelings also appeared to be relevant, as in some cases there was a relation with the stated motivation and thoughts and helped to confirm them. As an example, respondent eighty-two said that he came to the cemetery because he wanted to see the Commonwealth War Graves and that he was interested in everything related to war and military cemeteries. He affirmed to be thinking about history, as he tried to see the connection between the dates in the graves and their historical contexts. When asked about which emotions he was experiencing, he replied that he felt a sense of respect for those people that died for their ideas, regardless of which side they were in during the war. As we see, the stated motivation, thoughts and feelings align.

Respondent sixty-two, said that his motivation for coming was that he wanted to see the military cemetery and the graves of soldiers of the First and Second World Wars, and also the other graves. In the cemetery, he thought that it was important to keep the memory of those who fought for freedom alive and that cemeteries like this are important. He also thought about how many people died during the wars and how this was unfair, and that we seem to forget the past easily and that history can easily repeat itself. Regarding the feelings, he stated to have felt shivers when he saw the holocaust memorial and respect when he saw the military graves. At the same time, when asked if the visit was planned, he answered that yes, and added that he was very interested in history and that he had also been in Auschwitz during his stay in Kraków.

The kind of feelings related to the category that respondents felt during the visit are diverse, and encompass those such as the ones mentioned, as well as reflexive about the past and the future and how much progress we have made; a feeling of being surrounded by culture, for so many men and women of culture are buried there; a bit sad that many people died under communism; curious about the people buried in the cemetery and their contribution; honored to be a member of polish society and proud of having such a rich heritage in all areas of knowledge, from art to religion.

Architectural significance

As it has been explained, the category “Architectural significance” stands for the motivations whose driver is an interest or an attraction to the physical of the cemetery, that is, its appearance, form and elements in general (graves, mausoleums, sculptures, etc.), but it does not include natural elements. Twenty interviews match with this category.

The essential idea is that respondents whose answers fit into “Architectural significance” have as a motivation to come the desire to see the cemetery for its external characteristics. Although nature is not included in this category, as it has one of its own, some interviewees mentioned it as another aesthetic element that played a role in their decision to come.

The participants’ motivations for the visit can be summarised with the following categories: The graves are aesthetically pleasing; Very beautiful place; A like for old graves with christian symbolism; A like for old cemeteries with nice sculptures and ornamentation; An interest in funeral artwork.

Regarding the thoughts that matched with the motivation, respondents affirmed to think about the details of the graves and the statues that they had in front of them; that the cemetery is nice; about how it looks; art, comparing the one done in the past to the current trends; the visual aspect of the graves and how they were conceptualised in the past; That they are fascinated by the place; that there is harmony between the graves and the nature in the cemetery.

The feelings of some respondents also aligned with the motivation stated. Some of them said to be feeling “good because everything that is beautiful makes me feel better” (respondent ninety-eight); that they are “amazed at its beauty” (respondent sixteen); that they “feel wrapped in the aura of the cemetery, which is quite enchanting” (respondent ninety-five); a sense of awe at its beauty and surrounded by beauty.

Respondent ninety-eight, for example, had a match between his motivations, thoughts and feelings. He said that the purpose of the visit was to see the cemetery because he was interested in funeral artwork, that the cemetery was interesting from the artistic point of view. During the visit, he thought about the details of the graves that he had in front of him, which

means that he was really paying attention and evaluating the graves from an aesthetic angle. At the same time, as it has just been mentioned, he affirmed to be feeling good “because everything that is beautiful makes me feel better. I seek beauty so to speak”. Also, when asked if he thought about death or life and mortality, he answered “No, I don’t. I am focused on how the place looks.” As it can be appreciated, it is very clear that his motivations fit in “Architectural significance”.

Another good example is respondent sixty-five. She stated the her motivation to come is that they (she and her partner) loved cemeteries. As previously explained, it is considered that liking cemeteries is not a motivation in itself, and that this motivation is linked to something else, which could be an interest in genealogy, a love for its physical elements, the desire to practice a hobby, etc. She said that she thought that she was in a magical world because it was very beautiful, and when inquired about her feelings, she affirmed to feel a sense of awe due to the fact that some graves were pieces of art. In one way or another, the three elements (conscious motivation, thoughts and feelings) lead to the same conclusion: that her motivations fitted in the category “Architectural significance”. In the same line as other respondents, when asked about her behaviour, she said that she looked at the graves, which can be a support to the motivation, even though it is also true that visiting a cemetery and looking at the graves is unavoidable. But in some cases, if it was not a primary reason (and it was walking, for example), it could have not been mentioned.

Escapism, relaxation and passive recreation

Twelve interviews fit with the category “Escapism, relaxation and passive recreation”. The category encompasses those motivations that perceive the cemetery as a place where peace and relaxation can be found, where one can walk, break from the noisy city and bond with others.

Participants talked about the following motivations: To stroll, as it is a good place for it; “I come just to walk around because I like it” (respondent seventy); “We wanted to do something this afternoon [...] so we decided to come here to walk [...] (respondent seventy-seven)”; Walking a little bit after a session of jogging in the area; The desire to have a relaxed time and to put some order and perspective to things.

In this set of interviews it can be clearly noticed how much of an impact do the natural elements of the cemetery have in their decision, although not enough as to be categorized as “nature”. At the same time, the weather is an important factor.

Respondent seventy-seven, which we have partly quoted, said: “I like the place and sometimes I come just to walk around because I feel like it. It is really beautiful and now that the spring has come it looks more beautiful with the trees and plants everywhere”. He meant the the vegetation in April is really green as opposed to the previous months, when they were leafless. Respondents mentioned continuously the beauty of the trees, the plants and the birds singing, and that it was like a botanical garden. Evidently, they would have not said the same had they been interviewed in January, so this appreciation is very season-conditioned. Also, the fact that the weather was good and it was sunny was also mentioned.

It is in this category where feelings have a clearer relation with the stated motivation. Some respondents said that they felt calm and good, at peace and not stressed, that they felt serenity because the place was very silent and without noises, and that they could disconnect from the world and the city. Truth to be told, the cemetery is next to the road so one can actually listen to car noises, especially if one is in the extremes of the cemetery, but without doubt less than in the city streets. Some respondents also felt relaxed and reenergised.

Regarding the kind of thoughts that respondents had, they vary. Some affirmed to be thinking about different things, as the cemetery was a good place for reflection, that it was difficult to find the time with family and work. Respondent fifty-three replied “About normal things, especially about work. I use the time to gain some perspective about some things”. Other respondents said that they tried not to think about anything and concentrate on walking and relaxing. Respondent two stated that he engaged in reflection about his life and the fact that we die, and that this made him think that “life is too short and that we have to live it fully”. Respondent ninety-two stated to think about his life, and that going to the cemetery allowed him to view things from a different angle. “I have the peace needed to organise everything”, he said. He felt relaxed, “which is what I need”.

Most of the visits were unplanned and spontaneous, which tells a lot about the intentions of the visitors. Visits for relaxation and escapism (as well as curiosity) showed to be less planned than those that have education and research, architectural significance or curiosity as the main motivator. At the same time, although most respondents of the study were not able to be specific about how much time they would spend in the cemetery, some of the ones coming for peace and quiet said that it would be a short visit.

Pilgrimage

As explained in the section devoted to categories, “Pilgrimage” encompasses the motivations related to the visit to the cemetery for religious, spiritual or mystical reasons, as well as to visit a deceased person, whether it is a celebrity who one admires or a family member. As explained in the methodology, people who go to the cemetery to see a loved one are neither included in the study nor considered visitors for the thesis’ purposes.

Six interviews matched with this category. The reasons stated by the respondents are varied. A respondent (twenty-seven) said to come to the cemetery to attend mass and put candles on some graves. This woman did not have anyone buried in the cemetery. When asked about her feelings, she affirmed to feel good due to the fact that she felt connected with God and everyone buried there. During the visit, she thought about her family, which she wanted to be happy, but also about God. This was clearly a religiously motivated visit, as her behaviour confirmed it: She attended mass and engaged in prayer. She also cleaned some graves from people she did not know. When asked if she thought about death, she replied that she did not like to think about it. The visit was planned and she spent more than an hour. Respondent eighty-four considered that she felt spiritually reconnected in the cemetery, and that she perceived the cemetery as a spiritual place. She also engaged in prayer during the visit.

Respondent eighty-nine decided to come to the cemetery after having been to the Jan Matejko House in Kraków. He liked the paintings of the artist, as well as cemeteries in general. His feelings were more general than specific to Jan Matejko, as he experienced respect and admiration because he felt that he was in a sanctuary of famous Polish people. When it comes to his thoughts, he remembered the paintings that he saw the day before and reflected about the mausoleum where the painter is buried, as he thought it was very big. He also thought that the cemetery was nice and quiet. His visit was planned.

Some interviewees saw the cemetery as a relic of Polish culture, they valued the fact that some many Polish personalities and remarkable people were buried here. Personalities like Tadeusz Kantor, Marek Grechuta and Jan Matejko were mentioned. During the visit, some of these visitors felt feelings of pride for being part of the same culture as some of them. Others felt sad about some episodes of the history of Poland, especially communism. Regarding the thoughts, some engaged in reflective thinking about the history of Poland and its sufferings,

while others thought about some of important men and women and their works and legacy to Poland.

Contemplation of death

Contemplation of death is probably the category that causes more interest in the academic field of Dark Tourism. In fact, the word dark is used for a reason, as this kind of tourism is related to the places that have to do with death in one way or another, whether they are cemeteries or the site of a tragedy or catastrophe. In fact, some academics have claimed that many people visit certain places (cemeteries are just one of them) to contemplate death and meditate upon it, as it is the case of Seaton (1996). He coined the term thanatourism to define this. Researchers like Raine (2013) and Mundt (2015) found some visitors to cemeteries that had the contemplation of life and death as their main motivation.

Four interviews done in the Rakowicki cemetery fit in the category “Contemplation of death”. Respondent twenty-four, when inquired about his motivations, did not answer anything related to death: He only said that he liked cemeteries so he decided to come. When asked about his thoughts, he also did not mention it. Regarding the feelings, he replied that “I feel relaxed, there is like a spiritual atmosphere here. I feel safe for some reason”. But when confronted with a clear question asking him if he thought about death, he was very clear: He stated that yes, that it was one of the primary reasons and that he felt better after visiting a cemetery. He affirmed to feel grounded and to have less fear of death after being there.

Interviewee fourteen said that her main motivation for coming to the cemetery was art, that her professor recommended her to come because the cemetery was full of beautiful graves. But when asked about her feelings, she said that she felt a bit melancholic and that she had a “kind of a romantic view of death”. She thought about the fact that we are mortal and that we take life for granted and we should value it more. Regarding if she thought about death, she admitted that it came naturally to her, although she also thought about other things.

Respondent forty-one said that her motivation for visiting the cemetery was that she felt attracted to cemeteries with attractive tombstones and a “dark vibe”. She said: “I like all things related to the gothic”. She affirmed to visit cemeteries in every city that she visited. Regarding her thoughts and feelings, she also felt safe (like respondent twenty-four): “I feel that I get into another dimension, where I am safe and the worries and dangers of the world can’t affect me. It has always been like that for me”. Her answer to the question “Do you think about death while you are here?” was “I think I do, I am weird, I know. I like to think

about death, I think it relaxes me and takes out some anxiety from me”. Her behaviour was also interesting, as she said that she took pictures of the cemetery to capture its atmosphere and take it home with her. She also answered that she wanted to visit the military part, although she was not very interested in this kind of cemeteries.

The last respondent, the one hundred, said that he liked visiting cemeteries, that he had already visited the jewish cemeteries that are in Kraków and that now he wanted to see a catholic one. He also mentioned the fact that important polish people were buried here. Even though neither his stated motivation nor his thoughts and feelings showed in any way an interest in death or a desire to meditate upon it, he talked about it when he was asked if he thought about death. Then he affirmed to think about mortality and that “cemeteries are a place where I can come to terms with this aspect of life”. He talked in detail about it, as it was a recurring theme for him: “Since I was a kid I’ve had a strong fear of death and at the same time I’ve felt driven to it. I guess that coming here is a way of confronting these fears in the most direct way I can”.

Nature

This category encompasses the visits that are justified by a desire to enjoy the nature in the cemetery: this includes trees, plants and fauna. Evidently, and as it has been explained, this is very cemetery-dependent, as not all cemeteries have the characteristics for a motivation like this one to arise. We have already mentioned the differences between cemeteries in the north and the south of Europe. At the same time, the difference between this category and “Escapism, relaxation and passive recreation” can be difficult to spot. “Nature” focuses on the visits that have the appreciation of nature as the central element. Three interviews matched with this criteria.

The motivations that respondents gave are similar. Interviewee eighty came to the cemetery because the spring had arrived and the weather was good. She stated regarding the cemetery: “It turns very green and it seems like a park. It looks wonderful.” The thoughts that occupied her mind were related to “all these green and colorful flowers”, if it is true that she also thought about how the graves looked and about her grandmother, who she missed a lot. Even though her grandmother was not buried in the cemetery, the mere fact of visiting it triggered some thoughts about her. Regarding the feelings, she experienced deep peace, which could be attributed to the calming effects of nature. Thus, relaxation was an effect of the visit, but the motivation was the appreciation of nature.

Respondent sixty-one visited the burial ground because she liked the cemetery in the spring and summer. She mentioned that it was like a garden, that it was full of green and one could hear the birds singing. She thought about the “beautiful landscape” and affirmed to be fascinated by it. Jokingly, she noticed that it was like “the Garden of Eden”. She planned her visit for the time when the weather was finally good. Similarly, respondent seventy-two compared it to a garden, and said that his motivation to come was that the good weather had arrived. He mentioned the trees and the flowers and how good the place looked compared to winter.

Practice a hobby

As the title of this category indicates, it encompasses those motivations which have to do with the visitor engaging in a leisure activity that they like. In cemeteries, some people practice activities like brass-rubbing or photography. Three respondents affirmed to visit the cemetery to take pictures of it.

Interviewee number six came to the cemetery to take pictures of it because, as he said, “it looks cool with all the snow”. He was interviewed the Sunday 18th of March, which was one of the last weeks with snowy weather. His visit was unplanned and spontaneous and was very dependent on the fact that it snowed. Had it not, probably he would not have come. During the visit he thought about the pictures he was taking and how they looked: He was fully focused on his activity. The visit would have a duration of around twenty minutes, which matches with the idea that he came only to photograph the cemetery covered by snow, not to see the graves or any other reason.

Respondent sixty-eight said to have come to the cemetery to try her new camera, she thought it would be a good place because the graves were beautiful. Her thoughts also matched with her purpose, as she concentrated on taking the pictures, although she also thought about the people buried there and what sort of lives they might have had. When asked if she planned the visit in advance, she stated that yes, that she planned to come when she bought her camera.

Not very different from the two other respondents is interviewee seventy-one. The purpose of his visit was to take pictures because some of the graves were stunning. He also mentioned the fact that now the trees had leaves and that it was a good moment to take pictures. As we see, respondent six and seventy-one have different criteria: the first one came because of the snow; the second, due to its absence. He thought about which photos to take and from which angles and was listening to music while doing it (he wore earphones). The three respondents, when asked about their behaviour -and matching their stated purpose-, agreed to be taking pictures of the cemetery.

10. Discussion and conclusions

As we have seen in the previous section, the motivations of the visitors to the Rakowicki Cemetery fit in the categories of curiosity; education and research; architectural significance; escapism, relaxation and passive recreation; pilgrimage; contemplation of death; nature and practice a hobby. The justification for each one of the categories and the motivations that each one of them encompass have been explained in the section “Categories of cemetery visitors’ motivations”.

Most of the interviewees visited the cemetery out of a sense of curiosity, that is, to discover more about it, but, as it has been explained, without reaching the level of an interest. This curiosity was linked to culture, history and art. The most relevant elements of the burial ground that caused this curiosity are the people that are buried in it, the military cemetery and Commonwealth War Graves and the aesthetic value of the graves, mausoleums and monuments.

Some respondents were motivated by an interest in gaining knowledge in relation to history and culture: This is the category “Education and research”. The interest was connected to the remarkable people buried in the cemetery, the military cemetery and Commonwealth War Graves, war history and polish culture and its traditions. The interest in the graves of famous people was more general than particular (the visit was not motivated by a single grave): Had it been the case, it would have constituted a pilgrimage.

The motivation of another set of participants in the interview was an interest or attraction to the appearance, form and physical elements of the cemetery: That is the graves, mausoleums and sculptures, excluding the vegetation. This attraction and interest was linked to the beauty of the graves, sculptures and ornamentation and to the christian symbolism. This motivation constituted the category “architectural significance”:

Other interviewees visited the cemetery to find peace and quiet in order to disconnect from the hectic rhythm of the city and its noises. For them, the place was considered as one where relaxation could be found and they could engage in activities like walking. This set of motivations were encompassed in the category “Escapism, relaxation and passive recreation”.

Some interviewees went to the Rakowicki Cemetery for motivations that fit in the category “Pilgrimage”, which shows that a visit to a burial ground can also be placed in the framework of religiosity and spirituality, with the relationship with God at the centre of it. Attending mass and praying are activities that some visitors engaged in. Some visitors also affirmed to visit the cemetery to see the graves of certain polish personalities due to admiration (specifically for it) and others conceived the visit as a pilgrimage to see the graves of their fellow countrymen who contributed to the history and present of Poland.

A minority of respondents visited the cemetery to meditate upon death. The interviews show that they used the burial ground as a place where they could confront it and come to terms with it, and thus reduce their anxiety and fear towards it. In the majority of cases the motivation was subconscious and arose when asked directly about it or through indirect inquiring. This motivation is represented by the category “Contemplation of death”.

A few interviewees stated that their visit was justified by a desire to enjoy the nature in the cemetery, that is, the vegetation and fauna. The cemetery was seen as a park or garden and the aesthetic value of its natural elements was the reason to come: the greenness of the trees and plants, the colorfulness of the flowers, the influence of the weather on its appearance, the good temperature and the singing of the birds. The category for their motivation is “Nature”.

Finally, a small number of visitors went to the cemetery to practice a hobby, which for all of them was photography. They came to the cemetery with their cameras and spent the time taking pictures of the graves, sculptures and landscape. Their visit was motivated exclusively by wanting to do this activity. The category that represents this motivation is “Practice a hobby”.

When discussing previous research done in other cemeteries we mentioned the Phd dissertation of Baidwan (2005), where he studied the rationale behind visits to the Marilyn Monroe’s grave. He identified curiosity as the main reason why visitors went there. Even though we can observe that in the study the grave of the artist is the focus of interest (not the Westwood Village Memorial Cemetery), we appreciate that both there and in the Rakowicki Cemetery curiosity has been the main motivator for visitors.

The results of the investigation also show us that some of the types of visitors that Raine (2013) identified in her study are confirmed. It must be noted though that “mourners” were excluded for the present research. Some visitors fitted in the profile of pilgrims, the morbidly curious, the information seekers and hobbyists and sightseers, retreaters and passive recreationists.

The research that Mundt (2015) did in the Glasnevin Cemetery in Dublin, Ireland, regarding the motivations of visitors, finds also resonance in this study. Naturally, the results of her research show particularities related to the elements of the Glasnevin Cemetery, like the fact that there is a Cemetery/Museum tour (main motivation) or certain monuments, but historical interest, interest in cemeteries, seeking peace and quiet, walking and contemplation of life and death appear also as motivations for visits to the Rakowicki Cemetery, if only in some cases as part of different categories: For example, historical interest being in the category “Education and Research” and “interest in cemeteries” not being included as a motivation due to being vague.

The motivations that Pécsek (2015) identified as the justification for visits to the National Graveyard in Budapest have similarities with the one undertaken: the desire to escape from the stressful and noisy city life, wanting to enjoy the nature in it and expand cultural and historical knowledge. At the same time, Robinson (2015), who in the framework of his Phd thesis regarding “Dark resting places” interviewed a visitor to Dunkirk Town Cemetery in France, where there are two Commonwealth War Graves from the First and Second World Wars, identified education as the main motivator. Certainly, each motivation has its specific characteristics, and in this case education was linked to the desire of the visitor to understand better the period of time in which her great grandfather lived. What both studies have in common is that education is also a motivation, in the case of the Rakowicki Cemetery linked often to the Commonwealth War Graves too.

Finally, the study that Nordh, Evensen and Skår (2017) undertook in the Gamlebyen Cemetery in Oslo showed that visitors have motivations related to relaxation, escaping the stresses of daily life, searching for time to reflect, wanting to be alone and curiosity linked to nature, culture and history. These results also find resonance in the research done in the Rakowicki Cemetery.

As we have seen in the section “Reasons for visiting cemeteries”, some authors theorized about the motivations for why people visit cemeteries without offering (apparently) any fieldwork backing their claims. Some reasons mentioned that appeared in the present study are the following:

Pilgrimages to pay tribute to significant public people, architectural significance and to find peace and quiet (Seaton and Lennon, 2004); religious, educational (cultural) and recreational (Tanás, 2004); interest in local history, the love of nature, passive recreation and education (The Cemetery Research Group, according to Thomas, 2007, in Raine, 2013); Curiosity and the desire to know more about the people buried in the cemetery, their way of life and how they gave shape to the town they lived in (Sheldon Goodman and Nicola Carpenter, according to Bell, in Bell, 2017).

The results of this study can be useful from a management perspective. The fact that people visit the cemetery due to curiosity and a desire to gain knowledge shows that proper signaling and information are important. Currently, there is a big map at the entrance that shows the most important graves, mausoleums and monuments of the cemetery, but with little information. Also, there is not information in english, both onsite and on the website of the municipal cemeteries of Kraków, where information about the cemetery is available. Some signs are present in the cemetery showing the direction to some remarkable graves.

The aesthetic value of the burial ground has shown to be important for some visitors. This should be translated into maintaining and improving the conservation and restoration of the graves and monuments to avoid its decay. At the same time, attention should also be paid to the appearance and health of the trees, plants and flowers of the cemetery.

Finally, and to the degree that it is possible, efforts should be made that the cemetery remains a quiet and peaceful place where people can find serenity and rest, which is also affected by the surroundings. As it has been mentioned, even though this is something valued by visitors, the cemetery is surrounded by roads, one of them being specially busy and another one having a tram line (which has the good point of making the cemetery well connected to the city center). Also, as many visitors consider walking as an important element of their visit (and in order to enhance the visit for everyone), the paths in the cemetery should be kept in good condition.

As we have seen, the motivations for visiting cemeteries that have emerged in the different studies that have been undertaken, including this one, have not varied greatly: Common themes have been observed. Further research could investigate more in detail the different rationales for visiting cemeteries, getting to know each of the reasons in-depth and specifically how they manifest themselves in relation to each place and its particularities.

The results of this study, in the context of research about visitors' motivations for visiting cemeteries, is a small contribution to the field. Each cemetery is different and further research on this subject should be encouraged, as new themes could arise due to the fact that each burial ground has its history, cultural background and circumstances, the same way that each person is different and has his or her own interests and driving factors. In any case, the number of investigations done on cemeteries up until now is still not wide enough to reach conclusions on the subject, even though the results that we have have commonalities between them.

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